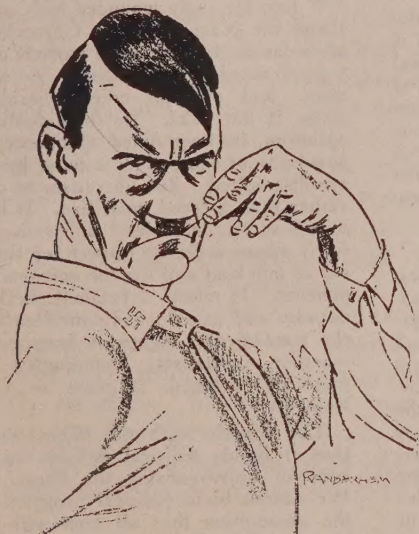


THE WORLD

Vol. XVI
No. 16

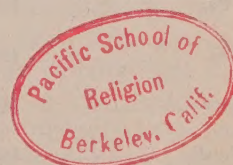
TOMORROW



—Haagsche Post

HITLERISM— A DEVIL'S BREW

REINHOLD NIEBUHR



What Is a Statesman?

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

Capitalism and Protestantism

GEORGE A. COE

APRIL 19th

10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

THAT POSTAL DEFICIT

Kirby Page

ciety to make it possible for a single government to do justice to them and to relieve the most urgent tensions before they cause a break.

The unhappy Germans are philosophers rather than politicians. Their philosophical passion for consistency tempts them to develop alternate political theories to a perfection of consistency which renders them absurd. Politics is an inexact science, at which pragmatists like the British are more adept than philosophers of the more classic variety. A tremendous literature is growing up in Germany to justify this new state absolutism. The hysteria of the hour supports itself with the whole apparatus of a *Weltanschauung*. Thus the hysteria gains in pretension but overreaches itself. The Germans are an unhappy people who take their political counsels from a Hegel if they dare not take them from a Lenin. If they could only be a little less consistent, they might be a happier nation.

Socialist Blindness

At a recent convention of the Socialist Party of New York City resolutions were adopted on the victory of fascism which reveal a pathetic blindness on the part of doctrinaire Socialists to the realities of the political situation which modern socialism faces. In these resolutions the victory of fascism is attributed almost solely to the division in the working-class ranks, and communism is made solely responsible for that division: "The Communist Party not only continued its policy of dividing the working class into warring camps; it even coöperated with the Fascist mercenaries in some important measures." The resolutions do not contain a word of criticism of Socialist policy or suggest a single doubt that Socialist strategy was anything but perfect. Instead of using the German lesson to learn how Socialist strategy may be best adjusted to the realities of contemporary life, this kind of doctrinaire socialism contents itself with the effort to derive a purely orthodox Kautsky-Marxist interpretation from the tragic events in the Reich.

No doubt the intransigence of the Communists and their unwillingness to enter any united front movement which was not completely dominated by them contributed to the pathetic defeat of German labor. There is no reason why that should not be said with vigor. Communist strategy was just as impossible as Socialist strategy, and between them they made a mess of the situation. But how can any one with clear eyesight deny that the Socialists made a mistake in helping to elect Hindenburg, providing more than 50 per cent of his votes without exacting any guarantee that his victory would not be exploited by their enemies, as it was. The more certain the bourgeois groups have been in Germany that socialism would support any government which would maintain a semblance of parliamentary government, the less did these governments grant the Socialists in return for their coöperation. Finally the

Socialists were put in the impossible position of sacrificing everything for the supposed maintenance of parliamentary government even when it was apparent that the increased use of the famed Article 48 had destroyed constitutionalism. Thus the fascist hordes marched through a gate in the very wall which the Socialists had sacrificed every distinctive Marxian policy to defend.

A minority resolution presented at the convention tried to do justice to the total situation and declared among other things, "The record of the German Socialist Party was, on the whole, a record of undue consideration for the rights of German capitalism, militarism and fascism. It placed the formalities of constitutionalism above the needs of the German proletariat." This resolution was voted down by a two-to-one vote.

Fortunately there are forces in the Socialist Party of America which will insist on surveying without prejudice the situation in which socialism stands. The effort to give a purely party interpretation to events in Germany, where so many mistakes have been made by the leaders of labor that it is obvious that no single party could have made all of them, is both pathetic and dangerous.

Soviet Courts and British Cant

The trial of the employees of the British firm, Metropolitan-Vickers, along with the arrest of nine Russian men and women, has thrown some revealing high-lights upon certain aspects of international relations. The full nature of the charges was withheld for weeks by the Soviet regime, which added, however, to the original accusations of sabotage and "wreckage" new insinuations of espionage. Soviet court procedure in general appears, from reports of unbiased witnesses, to be fair on the whole; yet the Muscovite conception of justice, like everything else in the Soviet Union, is subordinated to the great central purpose of industrialization. A case in point is the famous Ramsin trial, which was conducted with Klieg lights and radio hook-ups and developed several farcical indications that the affair was primarily an advertising stunt to boost production schedules and throw fear into the hearts of the workers.

If the British government had been content to offer its protests along this line, it might have evoked sympathy from world opinion. Instead, it has fulminated with true Tory pompousness, only making itself ridiculous. Its official attitude ran to the effect that these men, being Britons, could not be otherwise than innocent and honorable. Although no Russian tried in Britain could have expected a Russian lawyer, the same Tories who have been governing India by the execrable oppressive ordinances have been screaming with rage because under Soviet court procedure the prisoners cannot have British counsel, though British lawyers may

advise the Russian lawyers selected by the arrested men. No self-respecting government, in the face of the empty threats of the British, could do anything except to reply as the Soviets have done, by asserting their independence from British rule and declaring that Russia is not to be dealt with as though it were a British colonial possession.

It is only ludicrous for the Tories to complain that the Russian fears are unwarranted. As a matter of fact, quite apart from this particular case, the U.S.S.R. has every sound reason in the world to fear British espionage. A whole five-foot bookshelf could be compiled with volumes which discuss, sometimes gleefully, the undertakings of British secret agents in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it is also not a little silly for the Communist regime in Russia to assume too shocked an attitude, for their own spies are probably as numerous as those of any country in the world. All of Europe—in fact, practically all the world—is honeycombed with secret agents, whose job it is to steal, buy, beg, or nose into, information of a supposedly useful character. France is always jailing Italian or German spies, Italy those of France and the Franco-phile Balkan states, and both Switzerland and the Riviera are regular stamping grounds for these sinister worthies. Years ago, such pestilential secret agents were at least representatives of governments, animated by motives of false patriotism; but today hundreds of them work on behalf of private firms which are organized to make money by offering their services to all and sundry who are willing to pay generously for the underground work performed by these soulless rodents of sub-soil diplomacy. Whatever be the merits or demerits of the particular case being tried in Russia, no modern government can afford to look on self-righteously.

World Economic Action

In his invitation to Prime Minister MacDonald and former Premier Herriot to come personally to Washington for a preliminary discussion of the problems facing the World Economic Conference, President Roosevelt has acted with the same commendable promptness which he had already displayed in domestic affairs. It is good news, indeed, to a sorely pressed world that an attempt is finally to be made to combat the forces of the depression by means of international action.

No one today questions the necessity for such action. The efforts which the various nations have hitherto made to insulate themselves from the effects of the general world collapse have, almost without exception, served only to intensify the crisis. It is generally recognized that the abnormal growth of trade restrictions within the past three years has produced a situation in which it is virtually impossible for nations to

meet the financial obligations which they assumed prior to 1929. The attempt to meet these obligations has led, however, to continued deflation under the euphemism of "economy," which in turn has resulted in an almost universal lowering of living standards throughout the entire world. The frantic struggle of each nation, acting independently, to lift itself by its own bootstraps has only caused each of them to sink further into the economic morass.

But lip service to the desirability of international action will not suffice to retrieve the world from the depths to which it has fallen. A definite program must be conceived and courageously followed through. In this connection the task of the present political leaders is by no means an enviable one. In seeking to formulate a program for world recovery, they are faced with the necessity of choosing between two economic theories diametrically opposed. Until recently the majority of economists claimed that all that was necessary to bring back prosperity was to restore, as far as possible, the freedom of the world market. Proponents of this theory would induce greater flexibility into the world economic structure by removing all "abnormal" barriers to trade, so that economic adjustments might once more take place through the normal channels of supply and demand. It is claimed that capitalism functions more or less automatically as long as its laws are obeyed, and all that is necessary today is to remove the abuses which have grown up in the post-War period.

Other economists, however, hold that all attempts to restore the conditions of the free market are foredoomed to failure. They point out that the trend of events must inevitably sweep on towards greater rigidity and control, and that it is futile to try to stem the tide. Tariffs and other trade restrictions are but one aspect of the almost universal effort of economic groups to protect themselves against the uncertainties of free competition. The same force, for instance, which has prompted the creation of monopolies and combinations within the field of business has led workers to band together in labor unions, while the whole development of social legislation has sprung from the need of protection of individuals against the ruthless force of unfettered competition. Perhaps the most striking example of this trend towards greater and greater interference with "natural" economic forces may be found in the recent farm legislation. With this enactment covering nearly all of the basic farm products, there is scarcely a sector of our national economy which can be said to remain completely at the mercy of economic law.

The same contrast may be stated in quite different terms. There are only two possible ways of bridging the gap which has developed between prices and costs. Either costs must be scaled down by deflation or prices must be raised by inflation. To adopt the first course

is to permit the "normal functioning of economic law," while the second obviously introduces an artificial stimulant. Hitherto most countries have sought to carry through a deflationary program on strictly national lines. In every case this experiment has met with disaster because each "economy" has resulted in a further decrease in purchasing power, which, in turn, has led to still lower prices. National inflation, on the other hand, has not yet been tried by any of the leading countries because of the fear of a drastic dislocation of the foreign exchanges.

In the international field the same choice must be made between deflation and inflation. For practical purposes this is essentially a choice between *laissez faire* and economic planning. The first of these two alternatives has been accepted almost completely in the draft agenda issued by the Preparatory Commission of Experts for the World Monetary and Economic Conference. Its success presupposes the possibility of concerted action which will remove in one stroke all of the more objectionable restrictions to the free movement of goods and capital. Among the steps outlined in the agenda, for example, are the restoration of the international gold standard, the reduction of international indebtedness, and the resumption of international lending. None of these can be undertaken, however, unless trade barriers are removed and exchange restrictions abolished. Piecemeal progress in this field is utterly meaningless in view of the enormity of the task. It is not very reassuring to recall that a similar program adopted by the World Economic Conference in Geneva in 1927 came to naught on account of the failure of individual nations to put the recommendations of the conference into practice. Nor would anyone claim that the obstacles to such an agreement have in any way been reduced, by the events of the intervening six years. Moreover, even if it were possible to stem the tide of economic nationalism sufficiently to remove the chief obstructions to freedom of the market, this action would not in itself be sufficient to restore the lost purchasing power of the unemployed millions throughout the world. Clearly more drastic action is required before we can even hope to regain the post-War level of economic activity.

This deficient purchasing power can only be restored by an international inflationary program which would reach the debtor as well as the creditor countries. Controlled inflation on an international scale—such as recently proposed by J. M. Keynes—has none of the objections which may be brought against similar action by a single nation. Ideally it could form the basis for a carefully worked-out plan for international reconstruction which would provide work for idle men as well as idle dollars. While the Keynes proposal does not strike at the fundamental maladjustments which have caused the world depression, it would inject a powerful stimulant into the economic body, and it ap-

pears to be about the only hope of averting a complete collapse.

Morality and Economic Interest

Nation's Business, a magazine for business men, gives, in a recent issue, an interesting illustration of the economic roots of moral conceptions. Its leading editorial piously preaches the doctrine that the real issue facing the country is not an economic one but a problem "of plain old-fashioned morality." What is the great moral issue which the organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce has discovered? The morality of permitting workers to starve while thousands still live in luxury? No; the issue is: "Are we to condone and even officially encourage the breaking of promises?" Are we to permit people to forget that "obligations must be regarded as a sacred duty? . . . That issue is involved in such practices and proposals as federal sanction of defaults on municipal bonds, farm mortgages, home mortgages and even the government's own seed, crop and reclamation loans."

The pious editor has nothing to say about the problem in equity and justice involved in the necessity of repaying with dollars loans which require twice as much wheat, corn, cotton or labor to secure as did the dollars which entered into the original loan. Nor does he mention the difficulty of the farmer whose entire income is eaten up in interest charges on mortgages. He is on a high moral plane and does not care to consider such mundane facts. He thinks if the farmers would only pay their mortgages they would "be rewarded by an enduring compensation of self-respect." Since the editor of *Nation's Business* has suddenly discovered the moral law, we will generously aid and abet him in his piety by referring him to the book of Deuteronomy. There are some rather interesting moral and legal ideals in it. There is, for instance, the provision that a lender is not to keep the pledge of a poor debtor over night. Not even for one night! Furthermore, this ancient law code provides for a sabbatical year in which all debts are to be cancelled. We admit, of course, that the book of Deuteronomy is rather old and, from the perspective of the United States Chamber of Commerce, a little passé. But then the editor said he was pleading for "plain old-fashioned morality."

More Morality

There seems to be a landslide for morality among editors of business magazines. The *National Sphere* finds its moral ideal in sportsmanship rather than old-fashioned morality. It declares: "Any country that could sustain the losses this country endured and still exist is 'some country.' Anywhere else the result would have been a revolution and a change in the form of government. It all goes to show how enormous the nation's indestructible assets are, and what sports-

men its people are. 'To be able to laugh when the house is tumbling around one's head is an American virtue.' The pathetic political incompetence of the American people which prevented them from exploiting the collapse of the banking system to create a system of socialized banking naturally appears to be a virtue from the vantage point of the editorial sanctum of the *National Sphere*. All of which makes us wish that financial editors would stick to their business and leave morality alone. The relativities of morality are confusing enough without these additional perspectives.

Methodists Advance and Halt

Extraordinarily rapid progress is being made in revolutionizing the mind of religious leaders concerning capitalism. The intellectual and ethical disillusionment of clergymen especially is now far advanced. Supporting evidence is found in a report submitted by the social service commission of the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, and adopted by an overwhelming vote of the Conference. This is the tone in which these Methodists expressed themselves:

Our present debacle, in which millions are impoverished in the midst of plenty, marks our existing economic order as the supreme paganism of the day. We now know that the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon the poverty of the many and the absurd and cruel wealth of the few. . . . It is our conviction that industry based solely upon the profit motive is doomed. . . . The present system, which permits private hands to manipulate for profit the proceeds which are vital to the economic well-being of all our people, must be set aside, or so fundamentally changed, that the chief end of our economic activity shall be to meet the needs of all. Our traditional philosophy of rugged individualism must be modified to meet the demands of a coöperative age.

Our enthusiasm for this pronouncement is tempered by the announcement that the Conference deleted a paragraph which appeared in the report of the commission endorsing social insurance, minimum wage laws, collective bargaining for employers and employes, abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, a moratorium on farm sales for non-payment of taxes, a unified banking system, and a more socialized control of natural resources, public utilities and basic industries. The Conference did urge the passage of the mild measure for unemployment insurance pending in the New York legislature, and affirmed that a direct relationship exists between war debts and reparations. A committee was appointed to study the possibility of the Conference's achieving a schedule of a minimum wage scale for its ministers.

The utterances and silences of this gathering furnish a convenient text for calling attention to an outstanding weakness of religious leaders. They find it easy to indulge in sweeping generalized indictments, but are

reluctant to commit themselves to specific condemnations and particular remedies. It is an enormous gain to have churchmen call capitalism "the supreme paganism of the day." But it is even more important to have them throw themselves vigorously behind the particular measures required for the creation of a socialist commonwealth.

Lynch Law in the Jury Room

Were it not for the well-known Negro-hating, New York-hating, Jew-hating, civilization-hating tendencies among many ignorant natives of the Southern hinterland, the verdict of guilty pronounced on the first of the Scottsboro Negroes would be amazing. To say that it ran counter to the evidence is to comment mildly. For it was based on nothing less than a Ku Klux Klan mentality among those who listened to the trial and no less among the twelve good men and true who, apparently, never once flinched from a preconceived determination to vindicate white bigotry. The jury saw fit to pretend to a belief in the testimony of Victoria Price, a confessed liar and prostitute, and reject the testimony of Ruby Bates, an erstwhile liar and woman of easy virtue who had shown praiseworthy ambition to mend her ways. However, examination of full reports from Decatur shows beyond all doubt that testimony on anybody's part had substantially nothing at all to do with the verdict. Probably the best that can be hoped for, in the long run, is a succession of trials for the remaining Negroes, up to the Supreme Court.

One bright spot in this sad betrayal of justice is the brilliant work of Samuel S. Leibowitz, chief of the defense lawyers, who gave his time and energy so unstintingly to this case without payment, and whose conduct of the proceedings, outside of a few minor slips, was characterized by remarkable ability. It must be stated, too, that Judge Horton, as indeed Mr. Leibowitz so gallantly conceded, performed his duty in a manner refreshingly free from the local passions surrounding him. We cannot go so far as to say that his conduct of the case was blameless, because at times he should, in our opinion, have overridden the prosecution's obvious attempt to inflame the jury and should have prevented the astounding statements of the prosecution instead of merely asking the jury to forget them. Nevertheless, Judge Horton was in a tight spot and perhaps could not wisely strain local and sectional pride too far.

Clearly a difficult, heart-breaking task lies ahead for the International Labor Defense and all friends of decency and justice. But it must be seen through to the end. Sectional and Caucasian prejudice cannot be allowed to triumph in this case as the conservative and nationalistic bigotry of Boston did with Sacco and Vanzetti.

Before It Is Too Late

WHILE the nations are reeling on toward another holocaust of slaughter, it is high time for citizens who are still in their right minds to proclaim from the housetops their refusal to go to war for any purpose. The arguments against war as a means of seeking security or attempting the settlement of an international dispute are cumulatively overpowering. The weapons of combat are now so annihilating that it is stark madness to talk of protecting life by resorting to armed hostilities. During the 15 years since the Armistice, science has perfected ever more diabolical instruments of destruction for use on land, in the sky, on the water and under the sea. The known weapons of battle are terrifying, and what secret machines of human extinction are at this moment being concealed by various governments can only be imagined by habitual victims of ghastly nightmares.

In a world society of vast complexity and advanced interdependence it is sheer lunacy to seek protection of national property rights by taking up arms. The people of the United States spent 25 billion dollars directly in the endeavor to maintain their neutral right to do business on the high seas without molestation, and the ultimate cost will treble this amount. The paralyzing economic depression which is now reaping a heavier toll of human life and property value than was taken by the World War is due in considerable measure to that very conflict. Future war on a great scale would utterly demolish the earth's productive and distributive system and lead to disease and starvation of hitherto unexperienced volume.

And the notion that war is necessary in order to preserve national honor is an anachronistic relic of dueling days. It is nothing short of criminal sentimentalism to maintain that an insult to our flag should be avenged by slaughtering hundreds or thousands or mil-

lions of men, women and children of another nation. Moreover, it is the essence of dishonor for a signatory to the Briand-Kellogg Pact to seek the settlement of an international dispute by warlike means.

The ground beneath pacifism is as unshakable as Gibraltar. There is not a single valid argument why citizens of the United States should ever go to war, while, on the contrary, the preservation of every high

value calls for an unqualified repudiation of the entire armaments system. During the decade culminating in 1914 the statesmen of the earth proved themselves to be sightless leaders of the unseeing. And now, after a decade and a half, the stupid and bellicose policies of governments have brought the peoples to the verge of international suicide. The ominous nature of the present world crisis calls imperatively for millions of pacifists in the respective countries who will solemnly warn governments that under no circumstances will they take up arms, and who will demand the abandonment of provocative policies, and plead for complete disarmament and unflinching reliance upon pacific means of settling international controversies.

Young men of the British universities are leading the way. Surely the college men and women of safe and secure America will not lag behind, but will boldly an-

nounce their pacifism and set themselves resolutely to the task of uprooting the R. O. T. C. from the campus.

And to the clergymen and laymen of the churches we commend the ringing plea of George Lansbury, which is of such immense significance as to warrant us in reprinting it in full. When the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party of Great Britain so fearlessly renounces war, is there any last vestige of excuse if ministers of the churches and rabbis of the synagogues fail to take seriously the challenge of the Prince of Peace?

To the Editor of the *London Times*

Sir,—I write as a pacifist, one who accepts the words of Christ, "They who take the sword perish by the sword," as literally, morally, and historically true. Mr. Lloyd George appeals for an international conference of the Churches, but what then? Will the Christian leaders come down on the side of the Master and demand that, no matter what other nations or followers of other creeds may do, Christians, those who accept Christ and His teaching as the guide and law of life, cannot, must not, will not have anything to do with war or preparation for war?

We are approaching the holiest season of the year, when we commemorate the sufferings, death, and ultimate triumph of our Lord over all his foes, the marvellous victory of the "terrible meek." Why not use this season, this year, for all of us individually and nationally to confess our sins or shortcomings before God and declare our repentance and our determinations that, with His forgiveness and His good grace, we British Christians will give up all reliance on force, cease to manufacture poison gas, give up building ships and other instruments of war; in fact, determine that we will humbly and reverently strive to walk in the footsteps of Him who, in the moment of supreme danger, stood firm and serene, content to know that, though men destroyed or hurt his body, his soul, his all, was in the keeping of God His Father, who is Father of us all.

Yes, the world wants a clarion call for peace, but our pastors, bishops, priests will not give that call, cannot give that call until once and for all they declare all war a crime against God and tell Christian men and women it is a denial of God's will to have any part or lot in such a terrible crime.

Yours, etc.,

GEORGE LANSBURY

Hitlerism—A Devil's Brew

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

HITLERISM is a devil's brew in which three ingredients have been compounded. They are: the resentments of a defeated nation against the exactions of its foes, anti-Semitism and economic reaction. Of the three, anti-Semitism is not the most significant even though it is most publicized at the present moment. Anti-Semitism is, in fact, secondary to the economic aspect of the movement. Nationalistic resentments against the Versailles Treaty helped Hitler to gain his power, but this aspect of his movement is not immediately dangerous to world peace. The Nazis will have to content themselves with gestures against their foreign foes. They will not dare a martial venture. For wars unify a divided nation only if the schism is not too deep. There are two nations in Germany today, and the fascists know very well that an international conflict would be quickly turned into a civil war. After all, there is fairly good evidence that French interests have helped to finance Hitler and that the more sophisticated French leaders are not really afraid of him.

The really important element in fascism is therefore its torquism and reaction. Anti-Semitism is merely the tool of its reactionary policies. Since German Jews number only one per cent of the population, the degree of racial friction which the Nazis have developed would be unthinkable if they had not shrewdly exploited the always nascent racial bigotry of even a cultured people for reasons which have their origin in the social struggle between reaction and radicalism in Germany. While the Jews of the world naturally resent the Nazi terror against their co-religionists and make justified protest against it, it would be well to remember that the brunt of the fascist oppression is being borne not only by Jews but by liberals, Socialists and Communists, whether Gentile or Jew. All the Communist members and many of the Socialist members of the Reichstag are in prison, and the entire opposition press, including most of the Catholic papers, are muzzled. Fascism is an effort to wipe out social liberalism and radicalism. That is its primary character.

There are interesting reasons why anti-Semitism is such a perfect tool of this political reaction. Jews are prominent in banking circles, in the liberal press and in the Socialist and the Communist parties. They may thus be used as symbols of the forces of "disintegration" against which the fascists are contending. The fact that there are Jewish bankers as well as Jewish Communists might seem to offer some difficul-

ties to the Nazis in their efforts to identify the Jew with liberalism and radicalism. But in reality it fits into the purposes of their demagogic art perfectly. In order to understand that fact one must consider the achievement of the Hitlerites in welding the lower and impoverished middle classes politically to the interests of the industrialists. Hitler has been more successful than any contemporary politicians in securing votes from the poor and money from the rich. His Storm Troops and his pretentious propaganda require a great deal of money, and this money has been forthcoming from the big industrialists who desired some insurance against the rise of radicalism. For a while it seemed as if von Papen and Schleicher would serve the purposes of big business better and at less cost than Hitler. But they did not have Hitler's popular support. Hitler, in other words, was the only political leader who could give support to the designs and policies of big business by the votes of the millions of impoverished clerks, small tradesmen and impecunious professionals. It is possible to unite the poor and the rich into one political party only if demagoguery is raised to a high degree of perfection. That is why a demagogue, rather than the old Junkers, is ruling Germany today.

ONE of Hitler's demagogic tools is his anti-Semitism. Many Jews are bankers. The impoverished middle classes have politically vague but emotionally potent resentments against high finance. If these resentments can be expressed in terms of anti-Semitism and directed against the Jews rather than against the bankers, the National Socialists are absolved of the responsibility of elaborating a definite political program to deal with the financial question. In the days when it was making large promises to catch the votes of the multitudes, fascism talked a great deal about ending "interest servitude." When it came to office it was quick to announce that it would not embark upon any "adventurous experiments"; and the presence in Hitler's Cabinet of many arch-conservatives, who had been previously denounced by him as a *Herren Regierung*, a government of aristocrats, was a guarantee that nothing radical would be attempted by way of socializing banking. The Jews, therefore, had to bear the brunt of Hitler's political strategy.

Nor is it an accident that the particular Jews who are forced to suffer from fascist anti-Semitism are not the big bankers at all. Some of these financiers have

protected themselves by generous contributions to the Nazi war chest. One of the big Jewish department stores was particularly exempted from the boycott on Jewish stores on April 1. The reason given was that it had been transferred to Christian ownership. For the smaller stores the party ruled that recent changes in ownership were not to provide such exemptions. As far as the Jewish bankers are concerned, not the slightest effort was made to direct the boycott against their business.

THE real sufferers from Nazi terror are the liberals, Socialists and Communists. Thousands of these are languishing in jail. If they should happen to be Jews as well as radicals, their lot is particularly severe. The fascist determination to expatriate Jews who have arrived in Germany since 1914 is frankly admitted to be a measure by which it is hoped to break the strength of the radical parties. The number of radicals languishing in prison has been variously estimated from 5,000 to ten times that number. It is in any case large enough to prove with what rigor the Nazis have gone about the business of exterminating radicalism in Germany. A very considerable proportion of German opinion, which is not naturally given to anti-Semitism, quite frankly justifies the anti-Semitic excesses of fascism on the score that its real intent is the annihilation of radicalism.

It is for this reason that Jewish opposition to anti-Semitism in Germany really fails to deal with the roots of the difficulty. It is quite possible that the Jews will be able to exert sufficient pressure upon Germany to force the Hitlerites to desist from their worst excesses. But they will not be able to change the essential character of fascism. To a certain degree the Jewish resentment against the Nazis, however justified and natural, serves to becloud the issues in Germany and obscures the economic realities of the situation.

It is true, of course, that radical Jews are not the only members of the race who are suffering from Nazi persecution. Even if the more influential Jewish business men have been able to buy immunity, there still remain thousands of Jewish doctors, lawyers and small tradesmen who are being forced out of their positions and establishments for the benefit of their Gentile competitors. This aspect of the anti-Semitic campaign would make it appear that pure racial bigotry, rather than the economic struggle, is the basis of it. But the campaign against the Jewish tradesmen and professionals may also be regarded as another part of the strategy of a political movement which tries to satisfy the poor without disturbing the wealthy. Germany is full of unemployed professionals and impoverished tradesmen. How can they be satisfied and given the illusion of a "new deal" by a political movement which is unwilling to redeem the radical promises by which it secured the suffrage of the poor? The easiest way

is to open some of the jobs in hospitals and courts for its hordes of hungry devotees. The Nazis do not have to create a new economic order if they can satisfy the more articulate portion of the impoverished middle classes by providing jobs for the professional man and the bureaucrat and by assuring the destruction of some of the tradesman's competition. The cleansing of the civil services of Socialist and Catholic jobholders provides security for many thousands of Nazi followers. The incorporation of the fascist Storm Troops into the police service of the state takes care of hundreds of thousands of others. The campaign against Jewish doctors and lawyers is a part of this general strategy.

THE fact that the impoverished middle classes will accept a political movement which covers its political dishonesties by such a race conflict is a mark of the political incompetence of the petty bourgeoisie. That political incompetence creates one of the major problems of modern society, because it makes the poorer middle class the ally of the dominant capitalistic groups, when the logic of economic facts ought to drive that class into coöperation with labor. The pitiful effort of poor whites to save themselves in the American situation by driving Negroes from their jobs is a result of the same political incompetence on the part of the lower middle classes.

Economic determinists who think they can reduce race prejudice to purely economic interests oversimplify the complexities of human motive and behavior. Race prejudice has its own roots and occasionally results in consequences which may run counter to economic interest. But the economic factor is on the whole more powerful, and it usually uses race antagonisms as a tool of its purposes. The very fact that the race prejudices of the poor whites of our South and the poor Gentiles of Germany can be exploited by more privileged social groups to obscure more basic social issues proves that economic interest does not create, but merely makes use of, the blindness of racial bigots.

Unfortunate as it is that racial prejudice is still such a potent force in political life, it is not nearly as unfortunate as the political confusion of the impoverished middle classes—a confusion which offers a soil not only for anti-Semitism but for every kind of demagogic device by which a reorganization of modern society in the interest of the masses is prevented. The tragedy of modern Germany is not merely that Gentile and Jew are set against each other in fratricidal strife, but that the poor have been pitted against each other for the purpose of saving the special privileges of modern society's capitalistic overlords. The tragedy is all the greater because it will make the ultimate day of reckoning between reaction and radicalism the bloodier when it comes, as come it must.

What Is a Statesman?

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

WE have reached a point where we can look back and see that the Socialist movement in Western Europe has failed. Our duty is to be as clear as we can about the reasons for that failure.

One reason stands out clear above all others. It is that Socialism is not a political creed like other political creeds: it is different in *kind*. To be adequately embodied, to be worthily represented politically, it calls for a political party of a different *kind*. And Socialist parties have not been of a different kind from other parties. In individual composition, if they have been no worse than other parties, they have certainly been no better; as bodies, although they have professed to represent the interests of the working class as a *whole*, it is precisely the interests of the working class as a *whole* that they have neglected. As against the interests of the land-worker, they have pushed the interests of the town-worker, as against the less skilled, they have pushed the interests of the more skilled worker; as against the unemployed, the interests of the employed. It was inevitable. Only a real Socialist statesman could have prevailed (and that improbably) against the organized, separate, and mutually conflicting interests of the working class. There has been no Socialist statesman in this country, though some believe that Wheatley might have been the man. There have been Socialist politicians, who blossomed into statesmen precisely at the moment when they gave up the hollow pretence of being Socialists altogether.

A Socialist statesman, in the sense intended here, would be proof against the empty sophistries with which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald used to gull the Socialist rank and file, and presumably himself as well. A Socialist statesman would not speak of the actual nation as a true community, or oppose evolution to revolution. That is equivocation: for the problem before the Socialist is precisely to make the nation into a community, and evolution has included many revolutions. To oppose them is to substitute clap-trap for thought. Socialism without revolution is unthinkable. If we mean either that we prefer peaceful revolution to violent, or that we believe that the habit and structure of this country is such that violent revolution is doomed to fiasco, and, being doomed to fiasco, will attract only the unimaginative—in neither case is it true to say that we are for evolution, not revolution. The Socialist is for revolution, for a very particular kind of revolution—a revolution of the economic structure of society so that the ownership of the instruments of production shall be no longer in private con-

trol. How that revolution may be best achieved in a given country is for the Socialist statesman to decide. We have never had one.

And he will not easily be produced. The raw material of which he will be made is the disinterested politician. He is rare enough. I do not say the disinterested Socialist politician, for any politician who is disinterested *must* be a Socialist. But more than the disinterested politician is required of the Socialist statesman. He must be a veritable leader; he must be prepared to advance beyond the range of the working class. Merely to be propelled by them is inevitably to be propelled into the capitalist camp. Must the Socialist statesman then be an autocrat? It does not follow. The choice is not between democracy and autocracy; but between a creative conception of democracy and a non-creative one. The creative democratic leader is he who gives form and point and focus to the unconscious will of his followers. He expresses not their expressions, but themselves.

THIS is precisely what Marxian Socialism professes to do. It interprets the unconscious will of the proletariat. Marx's own original statement of the creative-destructive function of the proletariat is very impressive:

When the proletariat proclaims the dissolution of the existing order of things, it is merely announcing the secret of its own existence, for it is itself the vital dissolution of this order of things. When the proletariat desires the negation of private property, it is merely elevating, as a general principle of society, what it already involuntarily embodies in itself as the negative product of society.

Niebuhr quotes this, and his own remarks upon it are memorable. They show a rare imaginative understanding of Marxian Socialism:

There is something rather imposing in this doctrine of Marx. It is more than a doctrine. It is a dramatic and, to some degree, a religious interpretation of proletarian destiny. In such insights as this, rather than in his economics, one must discover the real significance of Marx. His economic theory of labour value may be impossible, but this attempt at the transvaluation of values is in the grand style. To make the degradation of the proletarian the cause of his ultimate exaltation, to find in the very disaster of his social defeat the harbinger of his final victory, and to see in his loss of all property the future of a civilization in which no one will have privileges of property, this is to snatch victory out of defeat in the grand style of great drama and classical religion. Nietzsche could regard Christianity as the revolt of slaves. He could see in its morality of meekness

and forgiveness the revenge which the weak took upon the strong by imposing moral ideals which sanctified the virtues of the lowly and robbed the traditional virtues of the strong of their moral significance. Marxism is another kind of slave revolt. It exalts not the virtues but the estate of the lowly. These modern helots also engage in the transvaluation of values. It is not the meek, but the weak who are given the promise of inheriting the earth. If the Christian poor hoped that spiritual forces would ultimately endow meekness with strength, these modern poor believe that historical, "materialistic" forces will automatically rob the strong of their strength and give it to the weak.

THAT is, assuredly, a penetrating account of the "vision" of Marx. But it has never really taken hold of the proletarians, in any country, least of all in this one. It might take hold of them if there ever were a large number of genuine proletarians—the landless and masterless men of Elizabethan times; men left to starve. Men are not left to starve; that would be dangerous; they are left to degenerate, instead. Starving men revolt, degenerating men don't. And, with that, the Marxian apocalypse shifts to the realm of religious mythology.

It is partly because of the power of religious myth working on a band of idealists, partly because the proletarians (in the fundamental sense of propertyless men) were in a vast majority in Russia, that the Marxian apocalyptic revolution succeeded. Because the disinherited were many, the State was insecure; but not because they were revolutionary, but because they were disinherited. Again, if the Russian proletarians had been fewer, the Russian autocracy would not have existed in that form: the system of government would have been at least semi-democratic. Yet again—for the variations on this theme are endless—under a fully democratic system of government, the formation of a proletarian class is next to impossible. For it must never be forgotten that a proletarian class is only proletarian in the Marxian sense when it is dynamically proletarian, when it *acts* in the proletarian sense. This dynamic can come in either of two ways, or a combination of both: either through the instinctive action of direct misery, or through the deliberate action of informed intelligence. The former, in a completely democratic country, is almost unimaginable.

THE potential Socialist statesman has not merely the power to understand, but the courage to proclaim these facts. If he is restrained by the fear that it would diminish the spirit of the movement, he is revealed as ignorant of the demands that reality must make on the movement. If it can be kept alive only by illusion, then momentary life is purchased at the cost of final death. If faith in Socialism depends upon being able to point to Russia as a near-paradise, what shall we do in a dozen years, for the chances are fifty-

fifty that in that time (or less) the Winston Churchills of this country will also be pointing to it as the Fascist eldorado.

The Socialist statesman must possess an extraordinary degree of disinterestedness—not merely ethical, but intellectual also. A man may be ethically selfless, yet feed his intellectual ego with illusions. It is a sympathetic type; but you cannot make a Socialist statesman out of it. Effective Socialism demands an unprecedented combination of ethical imagination and political realism. And the future growth and ultimate success of Socialism in this country depend upon how far this necessity is appreciated by Socialists themselves. If they do appreciate this necessity, then they will begin to understand the necessity of making a profound change in their own conception of their own party. It will cease to be primarily a political party in the traditional sense. It will return, or advance (for as a whole it never understood what Morris was driving at when he demanded this), to the condition of a "sect." Only it will be a different kind of sect: a sect without sectarianism.

IT is plain, at least to me, that Marxism could become the basis of the spiritual discipline of this new kind of Socialist party. It has very much to give. First, it can give to the worker that religious and dramatic sense of his destiny as a worker, the creative historical function of the working-class, which Niebuhr so admirably expounds. Second, it can give to the bourgeois that liberation from the self which no religion today can give. When the imaginative bourgeois comes to the final realization how his life has been unconsciously governed by the economic motive: how completely he is shaped by the desire for economic security, and for an economic security that includes, as an axiom, that he and his should enjoy all the cultural privileges of his class—he has reached a degree of self-knowledge such as no form of the Christian religion today attempts to give—and such as every form of the Christian religion today unconsciously or deliberately conspires *not* to give.

Christianity shrinks from Marxism, not because Marxism is irreligious, but because it is religious. It is the religious barb of Marxism that current Christianity must, at all costs, turn aside. It is hard at work at the job; it is hurriedly patching up innumerable welfare schemes, all so contrived (as an essential condition of the necessary bourgeois support) that they surround the poor proletarian with the sense that his prospect of employment depends on the kindness of his anxious and well-meaning "superiors." They are not deliberately wicked. Their adoption of this device for self-protection is unconscious. The church dignitaries who applaud and approve and send their modest checks are for the most part quite unconscious

of their own hypocrisy. Their Christianity has from the beginning been inextricably intertwined with the dominance of an economic class. The Church has always been, and is still, a secure middle-class profession leading through a hierarchy of modest, snug, and very snug livings, through canonries, archdeaconries, deaneries and bishoprics, to the heights of aristocracy. What wonder that it turns hastily away from the vision of a classless society, and

"Compounds for sins that it's inclin'd to
By damning those it had no mind to."

UNFORTUNATELY, Marxism, instead of pushing home its steely point of religious realization into this demoralized religion, prefers to blunt its own best weapon. It proclaims itself anti-religious, absolutely, whereas it is in fact opposed only to supernatural religion; it proclaims itself anti-ethical, whereas it is opposed only to sham ethics. It cannot see the simple truth that, in proportion as the pure proletariat is small in any country, so the emphasis on the spiritual element in Marxism becomes at once more necessary and more inevitable. More necessary because where the working class is not proletarian its instinctive industrial and political organization is always anti-Socialist: as it is in this country. More inevitable, because the anti-Socialist industrial and political organization of the non-proletarian working class must always end in the despair of those genuine Socialists who, without a clear imaginative understanding of the situation, have imagined their dreams might be fulfilled, and their self-sacrificing labors crowned by the "triumph" of the working-class movement. They have not understood that it is so composed and so guided that it *must* disappoint their hopes, and that the working class, thus organized, *must* become a major prop of the system it has professed to overthrow.

In such a situation the emphasis on the spiritual element in Marxism is necessary and inevitable. For it is the only prophylactic against the repetition of the same process of self-deception in the few and degeneration in the many. The profession of Socialism in this country is as often a mark for rampant egoism as the profession of Toryism itself. And this is not only ethically, but politically disastrous. The English nose is keen and peculiar. It will ignore all manner of hypocrisies in defence of the established order; but it infallibly smells the rat of egoistic revolutionary Socialism.

I have been pilloried because I said at the Bradford Conference that the necessary basis of a revolutionary Socialist party in this country was "a revolution in mind and heart." It is characteristic of those who find that conviction sentimental and ridiculous that they do not understand the nature of the necessity. They do not understand how far we are still from having a gen-

uine revolutionary Socialist party in this country: still less do they understand the one means of making it. It can only be made by slowly welding together a band of men who are Marxists in the one essential sense, the *only* sense in which one can *be* a Marxist, as distinct from talking Marxism, or obeying Marxist laws: namely that they are purged of egoism—men who know, by grim experience, how easy it is to be a revolutionary Socialist with the lips and a complete egoist at heart; how easy, again, it is to make the profession of the extremest kind of communism the mask of the extremest egoism, or for the interested leader to employ the rigidity of extremism in order to discredit the natural flexibility of the disinterested one.

AGAINST all these things, which have happened time and time again in the movement, a genuine revolutionary Socialist party must now be forewarned and forearmed. It must know that the only Marxism that will take real root in this country must be based on the extirpation of egoism. And egoism has many forms. There is not merely the economic egoism, which is the substrata of capitalist society; there is the egoism of power in those who are convinced that they alone can overthrow it; there is the egoism of envy in those who will not suffer the better man to fulfill his function; there is the egoism of dogmatism in those who shrink from the facts into a dream; the egoism of the materialist who cannot understand that the purer the materialism, the purer is the spirituality which can accept it. When the problem of creating a party that is as far as humanly possible immune from all these egoisms has been squarely faced—and it will be faced, because it must be—then a weapon will have been forged against which no opposition can prevail. It will be tempered steel against soft iron: the clean edge that will cut through the manifold rottenness of modern society.

The man who will handle that weapon is the Socialist statesman; but he will have to be created by it, and help to create it. It will never be created by vague enthusiasm, or incessant demands for "activity," or innumerable communications from headquarters, or the zealous preparation of plans for taking over after a collapse which will never occur. These are dream-occupations. Only a body of disinterested men can have the strength for the degree of political realism which is required: complete realism and complete disinterestedness go together. It is easier to be realistic about the situation than to be realistic about oneself; and realism about the subject generally reveals the strangest illusions in one's realism about the object. When there is a Socialist party based on complete realism, the Socialist statesman will no longer have to think of weakness in his own ranks, but only of how to defeat the enemy. (Reprinted from *The Adelphi*, London.)

What Capitalism Does to Protestantism

GEORGE A. COE

THIS article is not a jab at ministers or churches. It is not a call to repentance. It is not even a prospectus of a possible and better Protestantism. Its task is the humble one of endeavoring to understand a few facts. "Please don't rap the ministers," said one of them; "their plight is already all that they can bear. For years they have seen their spiritual influence ebbing away, and now they face outright physical hardship and crippling of the churches through lack of income." Another minister wrote: "You have written a book that I need to read; but \$60 a month, even with a parsonage, leaves nothing for books in a family of five." In the presence of such distress I am not in a mood to ask whether errors of the ministers themselves may not have contributed to their woe; I am not willing to blame anybody. It is possible, however, to describe the unsatisfactory setting of Protestantism within our economic order without holding oneself up as judge of one's fellows.

Beginning with what is most obvious, the present financial crippling of religious work, let us ask whether that which confronts us is what lawyers call an "act of God." That is, are we being broken by a natural calamity? Again and again during the depression business leaders have said, "The resources of the country have not taken wings. We have the same soil, mines, forests, factories, labor-power, inventive and managerial skill, and even money that we had before. Why worry?" Clearly, we are not suffering from an "act of God." The churches are in a position almost exactly parallel to that of thousands of our people who are undernourished while grain is so abundant and cheap that it is being burned as fuel. The government can obtain billions of funds at an almost vanishing rate of interest, but these funds, aching to be invested, are not available for the churches.

What about this withholding, then? Does it arise from some sudden temptation, fear, or confusion? Is it an incidental slip from a state of spirituality that existed before the depression? Let us see. Yesterday the possessing classes were pouring from their treasures into the churches. Expensive buildings were going up all over the land; worship was being enriched by providing appropriate material surroundings; salaries were increased; staffs were enlarged; it was an era of expansion. But did the increasing income and wealth of the churches indicate that those who control

the physical resources of the world were increasingly accepting the rule of God in this area of life? Was religion enlarging its boundaries by spiritualizing the economic order? If not, the present distress may arise from a chronic ailment rather than from any cause as recent as the depression.

WHAT was the spiritual significance, then, of the former financial prosperity of the churches? The answer that the cynic gave even then might well have set us questioning. The surmise of the psychologist that there might be self-deception in what counted itself as piety was worthy of more attention than it received. The warnings of our social prophets deserved a hearing that they did not get. The financial prosperity of the churches, as the eminent minister quoted in the first paragraph of this article perceives, coincided with and partly concealed a growing loss of spiritual influence. Somehow religion was going heavily at the very moment when the institutions of religion appeared to mount up with wings. Many a minister felt this, but the explanation of it was not obvious.

Superficial interpretations abounded. It was said, for instance, that golfing, motoring, and the social amenities of the well-to-do were squeezing into a narrower and narrower place the higher joys for which the church provides enlargement and discipline; or that men of affairs were living an unbalanced life, being too much absorbed in the pursuit of wealth; or that science was undermining faith; or that the colleges had forgotten God, and that education generally had become secular; or that the departure of theology and of theological seminaries from the creeds of yesterday had cut the nerve of Christian experience.

All these explanations missed the main fact. Only a few, rather lonely, voices suggested that what was expanding in the churches through their increase in wealth was not religion but the capitalist system itself. The religion of Jesus was not making inroads into our economic order, which is avowedly based upon a self-regard that Jesus condemned; rather, the inroads were being made by the very thing that Jesus condemned. Perhaps one might say without undue harshness that our economic habits were assuring themselves of their spiritual respectability by sending a fraction of their profits to church.

ALL this can be said without charging anybody with deliberate hypocrisy. Human motives are complex and subtle, and self-knowledge is not an easy achievement. Our greatest dangers arise from drifting. The longer I live the more sure I am that the conscious hypocrites are few in number and not particularly dangerous. It is when we are asleep that the tares get their start. Consequently the most difficult problem for religious and moral discipline is that of providing permanent preventives of stupidity; or, positively stated, it is to produce a habit of sensitive discrimination with respect to events and motives. The period in question was one in which "the deceitfulness of riches" added its own dulling process to the other difficulties of keeping awake and alert. To the credit of Protestantism it can be said that only here and there has a minister definitely aligned himself with capitalism as a social finality, and that within the churches there has been enough questioning of capitalism and its military and other works to create rather widespread distrust among the masters of this world.

Spring



From a drawing by Albert Daenens

There appears to be a tendency on the part of great wealth to disappear from church circles.

Yet entanglement is the rule, ambiguities abound, and ministers are at their wits' end to make religion stand out in its own proper person. How get a hearing for spiritual realities in this heedless world? (Advertise? Adopt the methods of salesmanship?) How get the church into the affairs of this world? (Join the "service societies," attend social functions and accept membership in all manner of committees?) How deepen the spiritual life within the churches? (Go "Gothic" and improve the music? Hire another church worker? Send for Billy Sunday? Hold a "house party"?) How meet the challenge of the prophets who are renewing the declaration that we cannot serve both God and Mammon? (Preach a social as well as an individual gospel? Say "Please don't" to profiteers? Denounce war?) How renew the vitality of the thought of God? (Go into mystical retirement? Reinstate the old theology? Conclude, perhaps, after all, the sphere of our communion with God is a transcendent world, and that the problem of justice is of a different order?)

WE entered the depression in this condition of confusion. Can the depression itself help, then, towards clarity? It will do so if our religious leaders will unflinchingly hold their minds against the question; Just what gospel have we for the unemployed on the one hand and for the possessing classes on the other? What has religion to say about hunger for bread? What does religion intend to do about the moral deterioration that poverty in the midst of plenty produces? And what about the moral deterioration that wealth in the midst of poverty produces in the so-called privileged classes? What, O preachers and teachers of the church, does your God want?


In order to appreciate the full force of these questions, the following stony facts need to be faced: First, the churches are dependent for support upon economic processes that contradict the principles that the churches profess. Second, the churches and denominations are themselves business organizations. They buy and sell, invest funds, manufacture, make profits, hire and fire. Third, the parts of the population that most feel the bitterness of economic injustice—the people who are most likely to act for the correction of it—are only slightly represented in the churches.

A Request

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Not in the

War Plus; Education Minus

Premier Ramsay MacDonald's National government has issued estimates for the new budget which add to naval appropriations £3,093,700, to the army, £1,462,000, and to the air force £26,000, totaling increases of £4,581,700. However, appropriations for education are cut by £830,775. The Labor Party comments as follows: "On the plea of 'economy' the government has cut unemployment benefit by over £12,000,000 a year, 'saved' £15,000,000 a year by the operation of the Means Test, and refused to grant the necessary financial assistance for urgently needed schemes of public work." The Party also criticizes the added expenditure of £900,000 on the territorial camps.

Revolutionary Era in Wall Street

In its issue of April 1, the *Magazine of Wall Street* said editorially: "It should not be forgotten that we are in a chaotic and revolutionary period. Old economic methods have broken down under the impact of the automatic machine and the production of wealth faster than it can be distributed. This is, perhaps, the time for innovation and experiment, trial and error. They are inevitable; better it is to have a try-out now, when public opinion demands it, and corrective efforts can hardly be more harmful at the worst than what the failure of old ways has brought us to and inaction has made worse."

Relief Workers Strike

High Point unemployed workers on county and city relief projects, at a meeting of the High Point Unemployed League, declared a holiday, to last until their grievances could be settled. This holiday will involve 1,000 relief workers and 11,500 others, including most of the unemployed and their families. Since the population of High Point is approximately 36,000, almost a third of the population is on the relief list. According to the *Federated Press*, the holiday is the answer to the local relief board's announcement that it would cut the pay of the relief project workers from \$1 a day, on a three-day week basis, to 80 cents, which would mean \$2.40 a week for three days' hard work. The unemployed contended that they were slowly starving on the \$3 pay, and that they could not go home after working all day to see their children hungry.

Wages and Purchasing Power

America's workers have lost 53.7 per cent of the purchasing power they possessed in 1929, according to studies recently completed by the National Industrial Conference Board. In dollars, wage payments are down 66.6 per cent. Since 1929 industrial wage rates have been slashed 19.3 per cent throughout the nation, the N. I. C. B. reported. Working hours of employed workers have been shortened 26.9 per cent. The volume of employment has dropped 43.4 per cent. When these factors are combined, the industrial population as a whole, including both employed and unemployed, is receiving only 33.4 per cent as many dollars in wage income as in 1929.

What Slums Cost

In the Sneinton Market district of Nottingham, England, which the British Labor Party asserts is a slum area, the infantile mortality rate is 133 per 1,000 births, as compared with 88 per 1,000 in the city as a whole, according to figures given out by the Chief Medical Officer of Nottingham at an official inquiry.

Even During the Depression

In an article in *Scribner's Magazine* for April, James Truslow Adams emphasizes the fact that even during the present economic debacle there are outstanding 120 million life insurance policies to an amount of 103 billion dollars, and that at the bottom of the panic last summer there were 24 billion dollars on deposit in 44 million savings accounts.

Anti-Birth Control Bill

Action to prevent the passage of an anti-birth control bill pending in the Wisconsin legislature is urged upon members and friends of the American Civil Liberties Union. The Union points out that it is not taking any position on the merits of the birth control question, but is asking help in killing the bill on the broad ground of the fundamental right of free speech and free communication. "This is one of the most drastic bills yet formulated to bar discussion of birth control," the Union declares. "It prohibits all persons from writing or publishing any information concerning contraception, and would penalize them for even having such written or printed data in their possession. Exemption is provided only for physicians and surgeons in prescribing 'a remedy to prevent communication of disease.' If this bill were enacted, physicians would be barred from communicating contraceptive advice to persons afflicted with heart disease, tuberculosis or any diseases which are not communicable."

More Diamonds and Pearls

In an interview published in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Herbert L. Redman, of Saks-Fifth Avenue store, rejoiced over the fact that "diamonds and pearls are being bought in greater numbers today. . . . Exclusive and expensive travel things also are in large demand. . . . I do not believe we can be too optimistic about immediate business."

In 47 Languages

The new Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union calls for talking pictures in 47 languages in an endeavor to reach the entire population through the creation of 42,500 traveling cinemas for villages and over a billion feet of raw film annually, reports the United States Department of Commerce.

German Female Crime

Die Genossin (The Woman Comrade), German organ of women Socialists, states that during 1930 about 517,000 males and 80,000 females were judicially condemned for crimes or offenses against the federal laws. Females thus represent only 13 per cent of the total number of convictions. The percentage of women convicted for political offenses was far lower. The only article of the legal code with which women have come into conflict more frequently than men was that with regard to abortion. Fifteen thousand women were convicted of larceny and 12,000 of insulting behavior. It is of great importance to note that out of a total of 70,000 women convicted, almost 15,000 owed their conviction to some cause connected with their occupational activity.

Light Plant Keeps Town Out of Red

The village of Winnetka, north of Chicago, has had a publicly owned electric plant since 1900. It charges the same high rates as the Insull utilities in surrounding communities but the profit, instead of going into private pockets, is devoted regularly to lowering the village tax rate. Today the Winnetka rate is 74 cents per \$100 valuation, while Evanston to the south pays \$1.30, and Highland Park to the north pays \$1.41, with other nearby communities paying much higher rates than Winnetka. The profit from the light plant is devoted also to a maintenance and replacement fund for the plant itself and to another fund for extensions which in turn bring in additional revenue when completed. The amount put in the general fund in 1932 was \$85,000, according to Village Manager H. L. Woolhiser. The plant is valued at a million dollars.

Headlines

Six Trillions

In discussing inflation, a recent number of the *Bulletin* of the National City Bank reminds its readers that at the peak of German inflation in 1923 one American dollar would buy six trillion, 666 billion marks.

To Picket Landlords

Taking issue with New York City's Corporation Counsel Hilly, who has issued a ruling that "peaceful picketing in rent strikes is criminal," Socialist leader Norman Thomas, in a letter to Hilly, declared such a decision would make it illegal for consumers to organize and picket public utilities whose rates are exorbitant. There is no difference, in effect, between rent strikes and labor disputes, Thomas said. He praised rent strikes for having prevented evictions.

Legion Against Tax Exemption

From the *Congressional Record* we learn that the American Legion of the Department of the District of Columbia has passed a resolution endorsing Senator Ashurst's proposed amendment to the Constitution abolishing exemption from taxation on government securities.

What the Better Half Reads

A survey among 1,362 women in Chicago, summarized in the *News Bulletin* of the School of Business of the University of Chicago, reveals that 78 per cent of these women read the feature cartoon, 60 per cent the best comic strip, 35 per cent the articles on beauty, 18 per cent the editorials, 17 per cent the articles on music and drama, and 16 per cent the book reviews.

Coöperative Jobless Colonies

General Manager George T. Pickett of Llano Coöperative Colony announces he will take to Washington a resolution to form coöperative colonies of the unemployed on a national scale under government auspices. Instead of giving the jobless humiliating charity or packing them into military work camps, the resolution would enable the unemployed to become self-supporting on colonies producing for use, not for profit. Under terms of the resolution, which was prepared by residents of Llano Coöperative Colony, the unemployed would work in these colonies only as many hours as necessary to produce their needs. The national organization of colonies, to be called the United Communities, would be headed by nine persons appointed by the President. Pickett hopes to have the bill introduced in Congress.

Respectable Deception

After having proceeded with the printing of 26 million dollars in scrip in defiance of Washington's orders to wait on the new currency, the Detroit Clearing House Association repented, and in explaining its reversal of policy concocted a story to the effect that scrip would not be issued because "counterfeiting had been discovered." In commenting upon the episode, *Business Week* says that "the bankers found themselves in an embarrassing spot, and tried to extricate themselves by devising the counterfeiting yarn themselves. This was all admitted when the facts came to light."

400 Out of 700,000

More than 700,000 stockholders were eligible to attend the recent annual meeting of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and about 400 put in their appearance.

Minimum Wage Gains

The Wald bill, creating a mandatory system of minimum wages for women and minors in industry, was passed by the New York State Senate by a vote of 37 to 13. The bill provides jail penalties for employers who violate wage scales set up by the State Department of Labor.

Lynchings of Negroes in the United States 1890-1930



—Ira De A. Reid in *Opportunity*, April, 1933

Each full figure represents 5 lynchings.
Each half figure represents 1 lynching.

What About That Postal Deficit?

KIRBY PAGE

THE total deficit incurred during the past six years by the United States Post Office Department is just under 599 million dollars. During the single fiscal year which ended June 30, 1932, the deficit exceeded 205 millions. These figures are being widely interpreted as a damning indictment of government operation, and this evidence seems to uphold the general idea that the post office is riddled with inefficiency and entwined with red tape. But this explanation is merely another illustration of the gullibility of the public in swallowing propaganda against government enterprises.

During the same six years the gain on first-class mail was 408 millions. The loss on second-class mail during this period, however, was in excess of 550 millions, as compared with the total deficit of 599 millions. Why should there have been such a heavy loss in this department? The answer is filled with social significance. Second-class mail, let it be remembered, is made up chiefly of newspapers and periodicals. The political influence of the press is so enormous that the rates on second-class mail are absurdly low. In the annual report of the Postmaster General for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1932 (page 101) we are informed that whereas the actual cost of transporting second-class mail averages nearly 10 cents per pound (9.81), the revenue received is less than two cents (1.81). This means that the government loses eight cents per pound on second-class mail, and that publishers pay less than one-fifth of the cost of delivering their newspapers and magazines.

The loss on official mail, material franked by Congressmen, and other free mail was about 58 millions for the six years. Thus we observe that *the combined loss on second-class mail and free mail approximated 608 millions, or nine millions more than the total postal deficit for this period.*

There are doubtless satisfactory reasons for putting official and certain other types on the free list, but the deficit thus produced should not be made use of as an argument against government operation. It is also probable that the arguments in favor of cheap rates on second-class mail outweigh those on the other side. As far back as 1878, Postmaster General Key said: "I think it may be taken as settled by Congress that regular, legitimate, printed periodicals issued at stated intervals from a known office of publication, shall pass through the mails at less than the cost of their transportation." Indeed, in 1851 Congress ordered that weekly newspapers be carried through the mail to sub-

scribers within the country of publication without any postage charge, as Congressman Clyde Kelly reminds us in his study of *United States Postal Policy*. This free-in-county privilege still applies to all offices where there is no delivery system in operation. It is certainly legitimate to regard the post office as an important element in the educational system of the nation and to set the postal rates on periodicals at less than the cost of transportation, but surely it is grossly unfair to cite the consequent deficit as proof that government operation is inefficient and wasteful.

Moreover, a substantial portion of the deficit during the past three years has been due to the loss on subsidized mail. The loss on air mail, plus the differential paid for transporting mail on American vessels—official support of the American merchant marine—amounted to 42 millions in 1932, 36 millions in 1931, and 28 millions in 1930. Thus we see that the combined loss on second-class mail, free mail, and subsidized mail was as follows: 1932, 155 millions; 1931, 145 millions; 1930, 129 millions—429 millions for the three years, as compared with the total postal deficit of 450 millions for this period.

Figures for the years earlier than 1927 are even more favorable to the postal service, as may be seen from this summary:

Year	Total Postal Deficit
1926.....	\$19,972,379
1925.....	39,745,027
1924.....	14,463,976
1923.....	24,065,204
1922.....	60,815,400
1921.....	157,517,688
1920.....	17,270,483
1919.....	73,734,852 Gain
1918.....	64,126,774 Gain
1917.....	9,836,212 Gain
1916.....	5,829,236 Gain
1915.....	11,333,309
1914.....	4,376,463 Gain
1913.....	4,510,651 Gain
1912.....	1,785,523
1911.....	219,118 Gain
1910.....	5,881,482

Year	Total Postal Deficit
1909	17,479,770
1908	16,910,279
1907	6,692,031
1906	10,542,942
1905	14,594,387
1904	8,812,769
1903	4,586,977
1902	2,961,170
1901	3,981,521
1900	5,410,358

THE whole story has been summarized by Congressman Clyde Kelly in these words: "During the entire history of the service under the Constitution, from 1789 up to and including 1930, the entire excess of reported expenditures over receipts has amounted to \$731,000,000. For each of these 142 years there has been an average expenditure for free and non-postal activities, such as subsidies, amounting to \$6,000,000, or a total of \$852,000,000."

Thus the myth that the postal deficit is due to inefficiency is utterly exploded, and its repetition should be a source of embarrassment to an informed person.

The literal truth is that the postal service is amazingly efficient. Tested by reliability, speed, and economy it ranks high among national institutions. Let the reader recall his own experience with regard to the safety of letters and packages entrusted to the mail, and concerning the speed of delivery. To those who harbor doubts we commend a booklet of 69 pages prepared by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics entitled *Technological Changes and Employment in the United States Postal Service*, obtainable from the Government Printing Office in Washington. Of the more than 26 billion pieces of mail handled annually, the percentage lost is infinitesimal; an astonishing per-

formance in view of the fact that there are 48,159 post offices in this country, and 41,602 rural routes with a total mileage of 1,358,032. The total number of regular postal employees exceeds 250,000, while 60,000 others receive part-time employment.

From the lips of America's most eminent individual come words of high praise for this vast collectivist enterprise. In an address on September 26, 1932, at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Post Office Department Building in Washington, President Hoover said: "Since those early days the Postal Service has been a factor second to no other in the up-building and development of modern America. It has constantly enlarged and broadened its facilities and has steadily grown in usefulness. Today it threads through the daily social and business life of all our people, and extends its benefits to every city, hamlet, and fireside in the land. It furnishes quick communication for business and industry, transports the products of the farm to the city dweller, brings the goods of the manufacturer and the merchant to the farmer's gate, delivers newspapers, magazines, and books into the remotest homes, provides a safe means for transmitting money and valuables, carries messages of gladness and sorrow between families and friends, and makes neighbors of our most widely separated communities. The Post Office establishment is not a machine; it is a living service to thousands of skillful and devoted men and women."

And let the fact be noted that it is operated without resort to the profit motive which capitalism regards as imperative. Salaries and wages are paid, of course, but the entire postal system functions on a non-profit basis, with only a few highly-paid officials, and even these public servants receive only a fraction of the income they would receive for similar services from private corporations. No dollar expended by the citizen at large brings a more generous return than the dollar expended through the socialist post office.

RECENT FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Year Ended June 30	Total Deficit	Gain on First-class ¹	Loss on Second-class	Loss on Third-class	Loss on Fourth-class	Loss on Free Mail ²	Loss on Subsidized Mail ³
1932	\$205,550,611	\$33,612,109	\$102,144,291	\$28,909,363	\$32,716,267	\$11,052,212	\$42,252,210
1931	146,066,190	58,289,028	96,674,618	23,388,895	20,031,600	11,968,333	36,078,976
1930	98,215,987	80,809,704	89,701,838	21,502,048	15,570,731	11,037,152	28,218,181
1929	85,461,176	78,633,418	94,001,198	18,806,911	19,778,707	9,931,240	-----
1928	32,121,096	83,174,429	84,022,703	4,315,268	4,479,586	6,816,286	-----
1927	31,506,201	73,768,786	83,498,229	1,763,768	2,959,733	7,182,994	-----
	\$598,921,261	\$408,287,474	\$550,042,877	\$98,686,253	\$95,536,624	\$57,988,217	-----

¹ Exclusive of Air Mail.

² Including free mail for the blind, etc., and certain differentials in favor of religious and educational organizations.

³ Air Mail and excess cost of carrying ocean mail on American ships.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

The Unity of Believers

Treasure-House of the Living Religions. Compiled and edited by Robert Ernest Hume. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.00.

HERE is a truly remarkable book, and it is doubtful whether anyone but Professor Hume could have produced it. It contains, in orderly form, topically arranged and indexed, the devotional gems of the eleven major religions of the world. More than three thousand quotations are gathered here, selected from 134 documents, written originally in 16 Oriental languages. To produce this volume many translations had to be made, and 106,423 pages of sacred writings had to be carefully examined. Professor Hume is a professed Christian, but his point of view is universal in its outreach; and his sympathetic insight, supplementing his great erudition, makes it possible for him to understand and appreciate, and feel a measure of "at-homeness" in, any of the religions here treated. Says he: "... the progress of the world needs authoritative doctrines which are lofty and universal, rather than limited, primitive and particularistic. Accordingly, this book offers from among the finest teachings of the historic living religions only those ideals which are actually taught in the canon of sacred scriptures, recognized as authoritative by all adherents of each religion, and which may well be accepted by all mankind." And again, "these selections, veritable treasures dug from the rich and deep deposits of the world's religious knowledge, are here made available, according to a systematic plan, for persons who seek information and inspiration."

Four main divisions comprise the contents of this anthology: (1) Faith in the Perfect God; (2) Man and His Perfecting; (3) Man and His Social Relations; (4) A Program of Joint Worship. Under these headings are 51 subdivisions such as: The One Supreme God, The Divine Omnipresence and Inner Presence, Adoration and Praise, Sin and Evil, Future Life and Immortality, The Perfect Man, Self-Examination and Self-Control, Fearlessness and Courage, Wealth and Prosperity, The Golden Rule, Love, Friendship and Brotherhood, and other subjects familiar to readers of devotional literature. The Program of Joint Worship is arranged as a responsive reading, and emphasizes the common denominator of all religions.

Each topic in the book is the theme of a separate chapter and is enhanced by a series of quotations from the various religions. The last 193 pages of the book are devoted to reference notes, bibliography and source material, and a topical index, making it equally valuable to the scholar and to the general reader.

Here, then, is the quintessence of the religious wisdom of the world, an anthology of the devotional and inspirational literature of all the living religions, setting forth the traditional aspirations that they have in common. It is a reference book worthy of a place in any library, and one from which a wise minister can secure a wealth of "morning lesson" material to enrich his own

order of services. Professor Hume's *Treasure-House* is as magnificent and praiseworthy as it is stupendous.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER

Through Liberal Eyes

The United States in World Affairs, An Account of American Foreign Relations, 1932. Prepared by Walter Lippmann. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Brothers. \$3.00.

COMPREHENSIVE in scope, authoritative in treatment, and lucid in style, this volume is a valuable commentary on the foreign entanglements of America during 1932. The fatal deadlock between the White House and Congress is illuminatingly interpreted and shown to be a primary factor in hastening the economic debacle. Through several chapters the foundation is laid for an understanding of the tangled controversy between debtor and creditor nations. The Lausanne settlement and its aftermath are described, and the whole war debt quarrel brought up to date. Other significant chapters deal with Rising Tariff Barriers, Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, Disturbances in Latin America, Shanghai and Manchuria. A comprehensive bibliography is furnished, and 74 pages are devoted to nine appendices presenting useful documentary and factual data.

If you desire a liberal—not a pacifist or radical—interpretation of American foreign policy during 1932, this is the volume you are seeking.

K. P.

The Rebellion of Eternity

Barabbas. By Sara Bard Field, Albert and Charles Boni. \$2.50.

THE blasé reviewer is often led into temptation by books of contemporary American poetry, and, yielding to evil, exclaims in the words of Mark Twain's classic definition of life: "Just one damn thing after another!"

Barabbas is different. Here is the clash and collapse of ending ages, the tension of time with eternity, the vision of vast tragic vistas of history, yet no pedant's heaviness, no smart, clicking sophistication of megalopolitan journalists in the winter of the West, no fatigued, easy, utilitarian reduction of life to a soul that lies a-mouldering in the grave while the body goes maching ziggag on. As substance, *Barabbas* is epic. Sara Bard Field steps inside the heroic center of flame that is the Jewish spirit. Barabbas, the man, is the word become deed, the prophet turned living sword: he is that last thing the modern spirit usually is able to create—a hero. As rebel, as tiger-soul, as Bolshevik at large against Rome, he is admirable as a character, and he convinces. The subtler drama of the book, also—the clash of arms-and-the-man against the man whose arms are the spirit, the clash

of Barabbas with Jesus—is finely evoked. Jesus seen under the shadow of swords is a new vision; we see, finely realized, the rebellion of eternity set over against, and overwhelming, the rebellion of time.

Barabbas, in itself, is a rarely fine poem. Beside it the clicking staccato cleverness and the mere shadow-shapes of *John Brown's Body* fade to vanity. And for us who live in a time roughly equivalent to the epoch of the poem—a perplexing age of turmoil and catastrophe, of strength disillusioned by the events of time, of time at tension with eternity, it is spiritually pertinent and potent. In its affirmative emphasis, also, it is harbinger of a new day, when we shall indeed "Walk the stage as poets walk."

E. MERRILL ROOT

WE RECOMMEND

Toward the Seizure of Power. By V. I. Lenin. International Publishers. Two volumes. \$2.50 each. These volumes give all of Lenin's letters, editorials and other writings during the fateful days immediately before and after the Bolshevik revolution. They are a valuable mine for the historian and interesting even for the casual student of the Russian revolution. They reveal with what single-minded purpose and political clarity Lenin moulded the revolutionary forces, resisted deviations to the right or the left, counselled coöperation with non-Bolshevik forces without sacrificing the uniqueness of Bolshevik policy. Many of the letters are extremely polemical and show how Lenin's strategy was developed in the heat of a revolutionary struggle but always in conformity with a clear policy which had been elaborated in years of quiet study before the revolution.

The Development of the Peace Idea and Other Essays. By Benjamin F. Trueblood. Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass. Dr. Trueblood was Secretary of the American Peace Society from 1892 to 1915, and was one of the few leaders of that organization through its checkered history who remained consistently opposed to war. He was a brave counsellor in the testing time of the Spanish-American War. These papers afford an interesting view of peace ideology as personified in a leader of the last generation. It is characteristically turned toward legalistic advances, coupled with a high spiritual outlook. Economic vision is almost totally lacking, as it was in the whole movement prior to the World War. But Trueblood, for faithfulness, was not misnamed.

Touring Utopia. By Frances Theresa Russell. Dial Press. \$2.50. A most readable analysis of utopian ideas from Plato to the present moment. Professor Russell analyzes the ideas of utopian idealists on government, education, recreation, business, and family. Naturally the wide variety of social and political conceptions which underly this castle-building gives the author a splendid opportunity for facetious comparisons. One of the most valuable contributions of the book is a complete bibliography of utopian literature. One could wish that the industry of the author had been applied to the task of a more thoroughgoing analysis of the social convictions of each period of which these utopias were symbols and projections. As the book stands, it portrays a confusing variety of social hopes without a key for understanding either variety or similarity in the various utopian constructions.

The Insolence of Office. By William B. Northrop and John B. Northrop. C. P. Putnam's Sons, \$2.50. An account of the revelations of corruption in New York City as exposed by the Seabury investigation. This sordid story helps to explain why Jimmie Walker is now living leisurely and luxuriously at various European watering places.

Principles of Social Legislation. By Mary S. Callcott. Macmillan Company. \$3.00. A down-to-date history of labor legislation, with an endless array of illustrative material. Especially to be recommended for persons who are still laboring under the delusion that the system of individualism may be preserved in a complex industrial civilization.

On the Chain Gang. By John L. Spivak. International Pamphlets, 799 Broadway, New York. Five Cents. The author of *Georgia Nigger*, that striking exposure of cruelty to convicts, condenses some of his material and produces an indictment, by simple narrative and photographs personally taken, which makes the smooth alibis of Georgia apologists for the chain gang look like—well, what they are. Should be in the library of every person of social sensitivity, stirring him on to his share in the rising wave of protest. Quantity orders, at reduced rates, would be a good idea; the publishers will meet you halfway.

Deportation of Aliens. By Jane Clark. Columbia University Press. 1931. \$5.00. Emigration from the United States is now greater than immigration. One reason for this is the deportation policy developed by the Department of Labor under the Hoover Administration, particularly the activities of the former "Secretary against Labor." Miss Clark's excellent study begins with 1925 and includes legislation, the causes of deportation, and the entire process of deportation procedure from arrest to embarkation and arrival in Europe. Many case stories enliven the record.

Insuring the Essentials. By Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. \$5.00. A historical and interpretative account of the minimum wage in many countries, workmen's compensation, social health insurance, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance. Extremely valuable as a reference work.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Revisionists

MAY I take this occasion to differ with Pronuncio, who writes in the April 5th issue of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* in regard to Hitlerism and the Marxian prophesy of the disintegration of society. Hitlerism does not run counter to Marx, but was comprehensively prophesied in the *Communist Manifesto* 85 years ago.

I was struck by the remarkable accuracy of Marx's prediction while reading parts of the *Manifesto*, in preparation for a discussion during his recent anniversary. Perhaps the eager revisionists might better read the original more carefully before modifications are advanced!

I take the liberty of quoting from Marx regarding fascism, which of course he does not call by that name:

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative.

Nay, more; they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. . . .

This, it seems to me, is a rather close analysis of the fascist position, which attacks both socialism and Big Business at the same time. That the petty bourgeoisie would be revolutionary was to Marx only "by chance."

Buffalo, N. Y.

JOHN NEWTON THURBER

Trotsky and the Negro

PLEASE let me express my appreciation of the discussion by Devere Allen on "The False Lure Of Class War." I was especially interested in Trotsky's reference to the advantages accruing to the Negro from the freedom growing out of war and conflict. The method of generalization and speculative inference to support wishful thinking seems to me to deserve more adequate treatment in current discussion than it has yet received. The advantages of class conflict in improving the cultural status of any group need another approach, to supplement the speculative and generalized attitude; they need the careful analysis of detail, the patient, intensive scrutiny of particular situations.

There is no evidence which I have seen to indicate that Mr. Trotsky ever made this kind of approach to Negro life and culture. Until he does this he is in no position to make any comments on the problem which carry scientific conviction. The statistical method and the kind of analysis employed by the Lynds and other recent sociological writers would throw new light upon the entire question of class conflict, and its advantages and disadvantages in our present situation.

Tallahassee, Fla.

JAMES G. STEVENS

Who's Who in This Issue

John Middleton Murry is author of "Jesus, Man of Genius" and editor of the *Adelphi* (London).

Edwin T. Buehrer is minister of the First Congregational Church in Haworth, N. J.

E. Merrill Root is a member of the faculty of Earlham College.

Albert Daenens is a Flemish artist prominent in the Socialist movement in Belgium.

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THE LAST WORD

BEFORE the ship was tied to the wharf, I was on board. I knew my man; and, as I fully expected, he was leaning over the rail on the far side of the vessel, apparently not eager to land, with his back turned toward America and his eyes peering stubbornly out across the harbor. Nevertheless, as I also expected, he couldn't keep the pose, and soon I saw him turn his head and glance surreptitiously around at the profile of Manhattan.

"Good morning, Mr. Shaw," I said. "Did you have a pleasant trip?"

He eyed me sternly over his flowing impedimenta, which whipped around in the breeze, while the white hair on his head stood up in horns, making him look almost convincingly mephistophelian. "Reporter?" he snapped.

"Well, in a manner of speaking," I mumbled.

"What!" he exclaimed. "Can Americans read?"

"Oh, yes," I shot back. "They can read, all right, but their judgment is atrocious. For example, your own works have had a great following here. Although, of course, I don't need to tell you *that*, because your mind is always on your royalties."

He actually sighed. "See here, I'm the one who is supposed to make remarks in that temper."

"Uh, huh," I murmured. "But haven't you heard of American hustle? You had us at a disadvantage that time on the radio, when you called us boobs. Still, at that, you ought to know."

His eyes fairly popped out of his head. "Is this an interview, or what is it? Get out your pencil and take down a few things."

"Not interested," I calmly replied. "My bosses are only willing to print interviews with important people. Besides, I've been having too much fun taking *you* down to take down any of your tiresome views."

"Upon my soul!" he shouted. "If you don't desist, I'll put you into a new play."

"Upon your *what*?" Wearily, though, I pulled out my notebook, and folded back the leaves. "In that case, go on."

He threw back his head—wheeling around, however, in time to catch it before it floated away through the air. "First, I think New York's skyline is abominable, although I haven't seen it yet. I hear you are excited about Hitler; but after all, didn't you Americans put in jail the one really brilliant man you had—namely, Al Capone? Of course you Americans hate the British, and why not? They gave you your freedom, y'know."

I wrote hurriedly, "Mr. Shaw was in an unusually amiable and lucid mood." Then I asked the celebrated Irishman: "Are you going to see the sights while over here?"

"Indeed I am," he warmly responded. "I want to see your abbatoirs in order to meet your statesmen; visit some leading asylums to understand your business men; climb the Empire State Building, where, I'm told, one can't smell your lit'ry criticism, go. . . ."

I choked him off. "You are a Socialist. What American Socialists are you going to visit? I thought so. Just another one of those upperclass British radicals, eh? Tell me, where did you put up when you were on the West Coast?" He cast his eyes on the deck, but they bounced right back, snappier than ever. "Well, Mr. Hearst has been most kind to me."

"O. K.," said I. "I'll say he has. Now look. Be good to *me*, will you? Beat it. Scah-ram! If you don't like the country you came from, gwan back there and spoil life for the natives!"

"Excuse me," he said, in a soft, gentle voice. "Ex. . . . Ex. . . . Ex. . . ."

My eyes opened. And there was Normala, shaking me and crying, "Eccentricus! Wake up!"

"Lemme alone, darling," I expostulated. "I was having the most beautiful, beautiful dream. . . ."

Eccentricus ■



Lone Robinson

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